

Message Text

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PAGE 01 SECTO 04122 202256Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----112639 202300Z /40
Z 202133Z APR 78 ZFF-4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH

S E C R E T SECTO 4122

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR CHRISTOPHER FROM THE SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND
BRZEZINSKI AND DOD FOR SECRETARY BROWN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: UR, US
SUBJECT: PRIVATE DISCUSSION WITH GROMYKO APRIL 20

1. AFTER MORNING AND AFTERNOON SESSIONS WITH OUR
FULL DELEGATIONS, HE AND I HAD A PRODUCTIVE PRIVATE
MEETING THIS EVENING. WE COVERED THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

2. NON-CIRCUMVENTION: GROMYKO AGREED TO OUR FALL BACK
LANGUAGE. TO HIS ARGUMENT THAT WE MUST AGREE ON
THE MEANING OF THE LANGUAGE, I REPLIED ONLY THAT THE
LANGUAGE SPEAKS FOR ITSELF AND THAT WE WILL NOT CIRCUM-
VENT THE AGREEMENT.

3. AGGREGATES: GROMYKO AGREED TO THE 1200 LIMIT ON
MIRVED BALLISTIC MISSILES PROVIDED WE ACCEPT THE 2250
SNDV LEVEL. (INCIDENTALLY GROMYKO SEEMED CONFUSED ON
HOW THE 1320/1200/820 NUMBERS WORKED, E.G., WHETHER
THEY WERE COMPELLED TO BUILD UP TO THE VARIOUS LEVELS.)
I FINALLY STRAIGHTENED HIM OUT ON THIS.

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4. NEW TYPES: HE DELAYED ANY RESPONSE ON OUR REVISED
DEFINITION OF "NEW TYPE" UNTIL TOMORROW. I MADE CLEAR
THAT OUR DISCUSSION OF OTHER NEW TYPES ISSUES PROCEEDED
ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT WE WOULD REACH A SATISFACTORY
AGREEMENT ON DEFINITIONS. ON THE EXCEPTION, HE TENTA-
TIVELY AGREED THAT THE EXCEPTED ICBM WOULD BE EITHER

MIRVED OR NOT BUT HE SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH HIS COLLEAGUES BEFORE HE COULD RESPOND TO MY PROPOSAL THAT THE NEW TYPES LIMITS WOULD APPLY FOR THE FULL PERIOD OF THE AGREEMENT THROUGH 1985. HE PROMISED TO GIVE ME A POSITION IN OUR NEXT MEETING. THE QUESTION OF SLBMS NEW TYPES DID NOT COME UP; I WILL SEEK TO CLARIFY THE ISSUE TOMORROW.

5. BACKFIRE: THIS WAS HARD GOING INDEED. THE SOVIETS SUGGEST IN THEIR POSITION THAT THE BACKFIRE LACKS THE RANGE FOR CONUS MISSIONS. (OGARKOV WANTED ROWNY TO TRY TO FLY A BACKFIRE FROM THE USSR TO CUBA WITHOUT REFUELING AND PROMISED FLOWERS FOR THE WIDOW.) THEY INSIST THEY WILL NOT GO BEYOND THEIR "GOOD WILL" UNILATERAL STATEMENT -- THOUGH THEY ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN ORAL RESPONSE STATING THAT WE ARE SIGNING THE SALT AGREEMENT IN PART IN RELIANCE ON THE SOVIETS BACKFIRE STATEMENT, AND RECOGNIZED THAT IT WOULD BE GIVEN TO CONGRESS. HOWEVER, IN THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT AS THEY READ IT TO US, THEY SAID THEY WERE GIVING US THE PRODUCTION RATE ASSURANCE ONLY "AS A MATTER OF INFORMATION." THEY INSISTED THAT THE PHRASE WAS IN THEIR SEPTEMBER STATEMENT, BUT IT IS NOT IN OUR MEMCONS. AS TO THE RATE ITSELF, GROMYKO REFUSED TO OFFER A NUMBER, BUT PROPOSED THAT WE STATE THE RATE IN OUR ORAL RESPONSE AND THEY WOULD NOT CONTRADICT IT.

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6. ON THE WHOLE, I AM CONVINCED THEY WANT AN AGREEMENT, THAT WE CAN SOLVE THE NUMBERS/DURATION ISSUE AND THAT WE CANNOT SETTLE THE BACKFIRE QUESTION HERE. WE MAY KNOW THEIR REACTION TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE NEW ICBM BAN IN THE TREATY TOMORROW.

7. MY NEXT PRIVATE MEETING WITH GROMYKO IS AT 11 A.M. MOSCOW TIME FRIDAY (3 A.M. WASHINGTON TIME).

8. ACTION REQUESTED:

A. I RECOMMEND THAT YOU AUTHORIZE ME TO ACCEPT THE 2250/1200 PACKAGE, IF IT INCLUDES A SOVIET AGREEMENT TO THE DURATION/TIMING POSITION I PRESENTED THIS MORNING, THAT IS REDUCTIONS BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1980 AND PROCEEDING AT A STEADY PACE TO COMPLETION NOT LATER THAN DEC 31, 1980, ON WHICH DATE THE PROTOCOL WOULD EXPIRE.

B. DISMANTLING AND REDUCTION OF EXCESS SYSTEMS:

GROMYKO HAS INDICATED A SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER

AN ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY SYSTEMS TO BE DISMANTLED OR DESTROYED MIGHT BE RENDERED INOPERABLE BEFORE THE END OF THE PROTOCOL PERIOD IF WE COULD ACCEPT A LONGER PERIOD FOR COMPLETE DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION. SHOULD WE INDICATE AN INTEREST IN EXTENDING THE PERIOD FOR COMPLETE DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION BEYOND DEC 31, 1980, IN THE CONTEXT OF SUCH EARLIER "DEACTIVATION"? THIS IS CLEARLY A POLITICAL DECISION, PARTICULARLY IF WE WERE TO GET RESPONSIBLE, VERIFIABLE ASSURANCES REGARDING EARLY DEACTIVATION OF SYSTEMS TO BE DESTROYED AT THE OUTSET OF THE PERIOD. I RECOMMEND I BE GIVEN AUTHORITY TO EXERCISE MY JUDGMENT IN LIGHT OF THE THEN EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, MEETING REPORTS, MEETINGS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MISSILES, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), CHEROKEE 4-20-78, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978SECTO04122
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DEPART PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND BRZEZINSKI AND DOD FOR SECRETARY BROWN
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840153-1722, N780004-0576
Format: TEL
From: SECRETARY MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780434/aaaabcxk.tel
Line Count: 128
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ac5c79aa-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2901950
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRIVATE DISCUSSION WITH GROMYKO APRIL 20
TAGS: PEPR, PARM, UR, US, (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH)
To: STATE SS MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ac5c79aa-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014